

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5246

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IO FOR ASST SECY MAYNES, DALLEY, MILLS

S/IL FOR DALE GOOD

DEPT PASS LABOR FOR SECY MARSHALL, HOWARD SAMUEL

COMMERCE FOR SECY KREPS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ILO

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SUBJECT: STRUCTURAL REFORM OF ILO GOVERNING BODY

REF: (A) STATE 18356, (B) GENEVA 1298

1. SUMMARY: THE IMEC WORKING GROUP ON ILO STRUCTURE MET
THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, JANUARY 26 AND 27 IN AN ATTEMPT TO
RECONCILE THE U.S. AND EC-9 POSITIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. AT THE FRIDAY MEETING, JANUARY 27, AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL SUMMARIZED U.S. CONCERNS WITH THE EC-9 PROPOSAL AS FOLLOWS:

(A) ENLARGEMENT OF VOTING GOVERNMENT SEATS ON THE GOVERNING BODY (GB) FROM 28 TO 46 BY ELIMINATING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TITULAR (26 VOTING) AND DEPUTY (18 NON-VOTING) SEATS WOULD MAKE THE GOVERNING BODY MORE IN-EFFECTIVE AND WEAKEN THE ALREADY PRECARIOUS BALANCES FOR THE INFREQUENT BUT CRUCIAL VOTES THAT ARE TAKEN;

(B) IT WOULD ULTIMATELY CREATE PRESSURES ON EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS TO ENLARGE THEIR GROUPS AS WELL, MAKING THE GB EVEN MORE UNWIELDY AND CAUSING DILUTION OF IMEC STRENGTH;

(C) ALLOCATION OF GB GOVERNMENT SEATS ON THE BASIS OF (1) TOTAL POPULATION AND (2) CONTRIBUTION TO THE ILO WOULD SO DIMINISH THE NUMBER OF SEATS GOING TO AFRICA THAT IT WOULD CREATE NEGOTIATING PROBLEMS THAT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE WITHOUT FURTHER MAJOR CONCESSIONS IN GB SIZE AND/OR UNACCEPTABLE ADJUSTMENTS IN THE CRITERIA;

(D) IT WOULD GIVE A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF SEATS TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE ASIAN REGION BECAUSE OF THE IMPACT OF THE ENORMOUS POPULATIONS OF INDIA AND CHINA IN CALCULATING THE NUMBER OF SEATS TO BE ASSIGNED TO REGIONS;

(E) ALTHOUGH THE EC PROPOSAL CONTEMPLATES ONLY FOUR REGIONAL ELECTORAL COLLEGES, IT WOULD RISK PRESSURE TO CREATE ADDITIONAL REGIONS, INCLUDING A SEPARATE REGION FOR EASTERN EUROPE WHICH WOULD BE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES; AND

(F) IT CONCEDES TOO MUCH TOO EARLY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT EXTRACTING COMMENSURATE CONCESSIONS FROM THE G-77.

3. AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL, ON THE BASIS OF CONVERSATIONS THURSDAY, JANUARY 26 IN PARIS WITH LANE KIRKLAND OF THE AFL/CIO AND TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS WITH LABOR DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY HOWARD SAMUEL AND IO ASSISTANT SECY MAYNES, RESTATED THE U.S. POSITION AS FOLLOWS:

(A) RETENTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF HAVING A LIMITED NUMBER OF 28 VOTING GOVERNMENT SEATS (TITULAR), WITH PERHAPS A TOTAL OF 20 NON-VOTING GOVERNMENT SEATS (DEPUTY);

(B) APPORTIONMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT SEATS -- BOTH
TITULAR AND DEPUTY -- AMONG FOUR REGIONS (AMERICA, ASIA,
AFRICA AND EUROPE) ON THE BASIS OF ABSOLUTE EQUALITY,
THAT IS, 7 TITULAR AND 5 DEPUTY SEATS FOR EACH REGION;
(C) "CONTINUATION" OF EACH OF THE PRESENT NON-ELECTED
OR PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY SO LONG AS
THESE WISH TO REMAIN.

4. AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVAL EXPLAINED THAT THE AMERICAN
IDEA OF APPORTIONING GOVERNING BODY SEATS EQUALLY AMONG
THE FOUR REGIONS AVOIDS ALTOGETHER THE PRESSURES AND PRO-
BLEMS THAT WOULD ARISE IN AFRICA IF THE EC FORMULA AND

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CRITERIA WERE TO BE APPLIED. HE ALSO EXPLAINED THAT EN-
LARGEMENT OF THE VOTING SEATS IN EUROPE TO 13 (WHICH
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WOULD RESULT FROM THE EC PROPOSAL) WOULD BRING PRESSURE
TO DIVIDE THESE SEATS IN SOME AGREED RATIO BETWEEN
EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (FOR EXAMPLE, 5 TO 8), WHICH,
IN TURN, WOULD BRING PRESSURE TO CREATE A SEPARATE EURO-
PEAN REGION IN ORDER TO COMPLETE AND CLARIFY THE DIVISION.
BY STRICTLY LIMITING THE NUMBER OF TOTAL SEATS AND AP-
PORTIONING THEM EQUALLY AMONG THE EXISTING REGIONS, THE
AMERICAN PROPOSAL WOULD DIMINISH PRESSURE FOR THE CREATION
OF A SEPARATE EASTERN EUROPEAN REGION. WITH RESPECT TO THE
QUESTION OF "NON-ELECTED SEATS", HE NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH
THE EUROPEAN PROPOSAL WOULD DO AWAY WITH "NON-ELECTED
SEATS", IT NEVERTHELESS ASSURES THAT MEMBERS OF THE
GOVERNING BODY WHO ARE PRESENTLY PERMANENT RETAIN THEIR
STATUS BY SEMANTIC ADJUSTMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION. WE,
TOO, WOULD AGREE TO RE-FORMULATION OF ARTICLE 7 SO LONG
AS THE SEMANTIC ADJUSTMENT YIELDS THE SAME RESULT, THAT
IS, "CONTINUATION" OF THE PRESENT SO-CALLED "PERMANENT
MEMBERS". FINALLY, AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL SAID THAT IT
WOULD BE BETTER TACTICALLY TO BEGIN FROM THE AMERICAN
POSITION WHICH YIELDS LESS AND CONSIDER FURTHER CONCES-
SIONS ONLY IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS.

5. IN THE DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWED, IT GRADUALLY BECAME
CLEAR THAT THERE IS A DIVERGENCE OF APPROACH BETWEEN THE
EC AND THE US POSITION WHICH SEEMS DIFFICULT TO BRIDGE.
MOREOVER, EXCEPT FOR THE CANADIANS, THERE SEEMS SCANT IN-
CLINATION ON THE PART OF OTHER NON-EC-9 IMEC COUNTRIES TO
LINE UP WITH THE UNITED STATES. INDEED, WITH SOME FEW
RESERVATIONS, THEY ALL INDICATED BASIC SUPPORT FOR THE
EC-9 APPROACH. THEY DID, HOWEVER, MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE
FINAL POSITION THAT THEY WOULD TAKE AT AN UPCOMING
MEETING OF THE IMEC GROUP NEXT TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, WOULD
DEPEND UPON INSTRUCTIONS THAT THEY WOULD RECEIVE FROM
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CAPITALS, BASED UPON THE REPORTS OF TODAY'S MEETING.

6. IN LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING, WE BELIEVE IT IS OF UTMOST

IMPORTANCE THAT OUR MISSIONS IN ALL IMEC CAPITALS APPROACH THEIR GOVERNMENTS NO LATER THAN EARLY MONDAY MORNING, JANUARY 30, IN A FINAL ATTEMPT TO MODERATE THE EC-9 POSITION BEFORE THIS FINALLY BECOMES FIXED IN THE JANUARY 31 IMEC MEETING. BESIDES DRAWING ON AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL'S STATEMENT (REF B) AND RUNNING OVER THE POINTS MADE IN PARAS 2, 3 AND 4 ABOVE, WE BELIEVE IT IS PERHAPS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO MAKE CLEAR THE FOLLOWING:

(A) THE U.S. PROPOSAL, ACCEPTING AUTONOMOUS REGIONS OF EQUAL VOTING POWER, IS A MAJOR EFFORT TO DEAL CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THE POLITICAL NEEDS OF BOTH THE EC AND G-77.

(B) IN PRESENTING ITS POSITION TO ITS IMEC FRIENDS, THE U.S. IS NOT LAYING DOWN ANY ULTIMATUM.

(C) ANY FUTURE REVIEW OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ILO WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING WHAT HAPPENS AT THE ILO CONFERENCE TO RESTORE THE INTEGRITY OF THE COMPLIANCE MACHINERY, ENFORCEMENT BY THE ILO OF THE PRINCIPLE OF DUE PROCESS, THE EFFECT OF RESTRUCTURING ON THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES, THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ILO, AND THE EFFECT THAT THIS HAS ON THE POSITION OF THE NON-GOVERNMENT MEMBERS.

(D) TO THE EXTENT, THEREFORE, THAT THE IMEC COUNTRIES AGREE TO A STRUCTURE WHICH IS SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT THAN THE U.S. POSITION, THERE WILL BE A PROPORTIONATELY NEGATIVE IMPACT ON THE DECISION REGARDING U.S. RETURN TO THE ILO. THIS IS NOT A THREAT BUT SIMPLY A STATEMENT OF POLITICAL FACT.

(E) WE WOULD HOPE, THEREFORE, THAT, BEFORE INSTRUCTING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THEIR MISSIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE UPCOMING MEETING OF IMEC ON JANUARY 31, HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS WOULD CONSIDER CAREFULLY THE IMPACT THAT THEIR DECISION WILL HAVE ON OUR

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ABILITY TO RETURN AND CONSIDER WHETHER SOME MODIFICATION

IS NOT POSSIBLE TO MEET OUR CONCERNS.

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7. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S INDICATING TO ALL ADDRESSEES ITS OFFICIAL CONCURRENCE WITH OR COMMENTS ON THE ABOVE PROPOSALS IN TIME FOR REPRESENTATIONS TO BE MADE MONDAY. VANDEN HEUVEL

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